DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 041 088 UD 010 388

TITLE Racial and Social Class Isolation in the Schools: Summary Report. A Report to the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York.

INSTITUTION New York State Education Dept., Albany. Div. of Research.
PUB DATE Feb 70
NOTE 68p.

EDRS PRICE EDRS Price MF-$0.50 HC-$3.50
DESCRIPTORS *Disadvantaged Youth, *Educational Development, *Educational Disadvantagement, Integration Methods, Minority Groups, *Negro Students, Racial Discrimination, *School Segregation, Social Class, Social Discrimination
IDENTIFIERS New York

ABSTRACT

Cause for alarm and need for remedial action is seen in the substantial and continuing increase in racial isolation in New York State schools. This cleavage which exists in other industrialized Northern states, border states and certain cities in the South is responsible for general social unrest as well as racial riots in the high schools. The findings of this report contend that racial isolation is harmful for the educational development of affected students. The school is described as a socioeconomic unit which exerts tremendous influence on students. The educational, economic, and social disadvantagement of black students, as well as of other minority group students, is exacerbated and compounded by the segregated school setting. Suggestions are presented for enhancing the potentially facilitating effects of desegregation. Methods include arranging a social class balance in the classroom, making selective changes in the new kinds of intergroup activities. [For full report published in December, 1969, see ED 034 090.] (KG)

ED041088

# RACIAL AND SOCIAL CLASS ISOLATION IN THE SCHOOLS: SUMMARY REPORT

**A Report to the**
**Board of Regents of**
**The University of the State of New York**

VT010388

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**The University of the State of New York**
**THE STATE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT**
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**Albany, New York 12224**
**February 1970**

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# PREFACE

The original report on racial and social class isolation in the schools was prepared at the request of the Regents of The University of the State of New York, and Commissioner of Education, Ewald B. Nyquist, who in July 1969 asked the Division of Research, New York State Education Department, to gather and interpret the available facts relating to the topic of racial isolation in the schools, particularly as they might clarify and define the problem in New York State. The result of this request went through many stages, beginning in July 1969, with two brief and successive reports which summarized the findings of major and minor studies of the educational and psychological consequences of segregation in the schools. In August, we began preparation of a detailed technical review, finishing a preliminary draft some 7 weeks later. Following presentation of the preliminary draft to the Board of Regents, we added to and further refined the report to its present stage of completion. This technical report comprised 620 pages and was published in December 1969.

The present report summarizes the detailed findings of the seven chapters included in the complete technical report. Chapter I presents a brief review of the legal background of racial isolation in the schools, and further reviews official policy and programmatic efforts relating to the elimination of *de facto* segregation in the schools in New York State.

The second chapter is an analysis of growth trends in the white majority population and among the Negro and Puerto Rican minority populations in the State and Nation. The extent to which Negro and Puerto Rican student populations are isolated in the public schools of the State is analyzed, together with analyses of the extent to which such isolation has increased or decreased in recent years. The results of these analyses define the current extent of the problem of ethnic isolation in the schools of the State, as well as provide some indications of whether racial isolation in the schools may be expected to increase in the near future. In the final section in chapter II, the correspondence between racial and social class isolation in the schools is examined.

The third chapter is a review of selected studies relating to differences in intellectual, educational and psychological development associated with social class and ethnic group membership. The purpose of this chapter is to define certain educational and psychological deficits which have a number of implications for the design of educational environments for different groups of socially and economically disadvantaged children. The findings reviewed in this section also provide a background through which the findings of subsequent chapters may be appropriately viewed.

Chapter IV is a critical examination of major studies of the relationship between racial and social class isolation in the schools and intellectual, educational, and attitudinal development in advantaged white and disadvantaged minority student populations. The reports examined in this section are broadly based studies of probable causes of educational development in students in schools and classrooms with different levels of racial and social class isolation. This research further examined the contributions of school and nonschool factors to educational development in majority and minority student populations. The findings reviewed in this section have a number of implications concerning the conditions which may be manipulated in the schools to increase the likelihood of equal educational opportunity for socially and economically disadvantaged children. The final section of chapter IV briefly examines the implications of survey research on racial and social class isolation in the schools for the development of positive interracial attitudes and contact.

Chapter V presents a critical review of studies of integration initiated at the local level in response to the national and State commitment to school integration. These studies comprise a variety of integration techniques initiated primarily in urban and metropolitan areas where *de facto* segregation was in existence. The analysis in this section attempts to determine whether the relationship between integration and educational development varies as a function of such factors as length of time integrated, social class composition of the school, type of transfer program, elementary or secondary levels, proportion white in the classroom, and whether students transferred to integrated schools compare favorably in educational development with students who remain in segregated schools. The final section of chapter V examines the potential of the integrated school setting for promoting interracial acceptance and positive interracial attitudes.

Chapter VI is a selective review of studies of compensatory education programs, from preschool through the college level. Through

a critical examination of research on the effectiveness of such programs as Head Start, Title I, and a number of small scale efforts, an attempt is made to evaluate the validity of different approaches to compensatory education. The final section of chapter VI summarizes studies of the relative effectiveness of compensatory education and school integration programs in affecting the educational development of disadvantaged children.

Chapter VII, the final section of the report, explores in further detail certain implications for research and practice suggested by the findings reviewed in the main body of the report. Generally, the nature of the evidence precludes making highly definitive recommendations. However, certain stable findings do suggest a number of new guidelines for school desegration, as well as other ways in which the instructional and community context might be manipulated to enhance the chances that Negro and other disadvantaged children may experience improved educational opportunity. Chapter VII also includes a brief summary of recent evidence of increasing racial cleavage in the schools, as shown by surveys of the incidence of interracial conflict occurring at the secondary level in 1968–69. For obvious reasons this last topic has considerable consequence for planing school integration programs, and we have therefore endeavored to place it within the context of other recommendations made on the basis of the chapter findings.

# ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This report was prepared by the staff of the Bureau of School and Cultural Research; Carl E. Wedekind, Director, Division of Research, and Robert P. O'Reilly, Chief, Bureau of School and Cultural Research. The major contributor to the study was Robert P. O'Reilly (editor, and author of the summary chapter, chapters III, IV, VII, and other sections). Principal authors of other chapters include Ruth Salter (chapters II and VI), Howard Berkun (chapter V and other sections), Esther S. Patti (chapter I), Katherine Blueglass (chapter VI), and Peter E. Schriber, whose organizational abilities were a major factor in putting this report together. Gregory Illenberg, William Kavanagh, Zelda Holcomb, and Arreed F. Barabasz also assisted in preparation of parts of this report. Much of the data for chapter II were obtained from the Information Center on Education under the direction of John J. Stiglmeier, Director of the Center, with the assistance of Lee R. Wolfe, Chief, Bureau of Statistical Services, and Joan Peak, Senior Statistician. The section on recent legal history in chapter I was written by William A. Shapiro, Attorney, Office of Counsel. Assistance in evaluating the report and developing implications and recommendations for inclusion in chapter VII was obtained from the following individuals in selected fields outside the Department: John Ether, specialist in teacher training (urban education), State University of New York at Albany; Vernon Hall, psychologist, Syracuse University; John Harding, psychologist, Cornell University; Mauritz Johnson, curriculum specialist, State University of New York at Albany, and Robin Williams, sociologist, Cornell University. A special note of thanks is also extended to our clerical staff and the staff of the Bureau of Publications.

# A NOTE ON LIMITATIONS

While the scope of this report has been fairly extensive, there are a number of important omissions which deserve recognition. First, we have not explored in sufficient detail the *sources* of educational failure of disadvantaged minority groups in other than the educational context. Secondly, we have not touched on the issue of racial separatism, which is now relevant to the considerations of those involved in the planning and conduct of school integration programs (Sizemore, 1969). Thirdly, the interdependent issues of *interracial conflict in the schools* and *community factors which impinge upon the process of integration* are discussed only briefly in chapter VII. These factors deserve more detailed treatment since both issues appear to be highly important in planning school integration programs (Sullivan, 1969). A fourth limitation is reflected in chapter II which lacks information on the ethnic composition of private schools in New York State (20.4 percent of the school-age population in 1968–69), and contains no breakdown of the public school population into elementary and secondary levels (the elementary level would undoubtedly show a more severe degree of racial isolation). A fifth limitation of the report stems from its focus on racial isolation in New York. Whenever possible, we have attempted to relate our conclusions, based on restricted information, to the broadly based conclusions found in more representative reports. Still, the report generally focuses on research findings which at best may only apply to the North, or possibly only to the Northeast.

The reader is encouraged to keep two additional considerations in mind in examining the conclusions of the report. The first of these is recognition of the fact that contemporary knowledge of the process of school integration and knowledge in supporting areas is incomplete, and what is known is subject to change with more sophisticated research. Secondly, it should be realized that the national commitment to eliminate segregation in the schools is eminently based on broad goals and values of American society. The stance of the social sciences is essentially neutral in relation to societal values, although

it may draw much of its direction and support from value considerations, and at times is even used in the hope of defeating or supporting realization of them. We have endeavored to remain neutral in analyzing and evaluating the research findings reviewed in this report, and in stating their implications for contemporary educational policy and practice. We were not neutral, however, in attempting to derive from our study those implications, directions, criticisms, and other bits of advice which appeared to offer a more systematic basis for the planning of school integration programs, or for the development of new and more effective programs for the child in the disadvantaged school.

As a final note, we solicit your reactions to the content of the present report, and hope that you will take the time to put them into writing. Pressed with deadlines we were unable to give certain sections of the report, such as the chapter on implications and recommendations, the care and time that might have made them more comprehensive and useful. We are continuing the process of revision and refinement in the expectation that a more complete document will be made available in the near future.

ROBERT P. O'REILLY,
*Chief, Bureau of School and Cultural Research*

# INTRODUCTION

Whites, particularly those who have only recently attained a modest measure of affluence, have great difficulty in understanding the meaning behind the symptoms of Negro frustration as evidenced in the recent wave of racial riots (U.S. National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, 1968) and the more recent instances of active protest in the schools and in other areas of American life (Kruger, 1969; *Urban Crisis Monitor,* 1969). It is generally believed that the economic, educational, and social status of the Negro has been advancing steadily (Kruger, 1969), and that legal efforts in the cause of integration have had a substantial positive effect upon the extent of racial isolation in the schools. However, a recent analysis of the employment status of Negroes in the United States (Kruger, 1969) indicates that, at the present rate of improvement of income, parity with white incomes can be expected in 805 years. Turning to progress in school integration, Sullivan and Stewart's (1969) analysis of the impact of Federal and State laws and policy relating to school desegregation indicates only minor progress over the past 15 years. The results of the analyses in chapter II of the present report show a substantial and continuing increase in racial isolation in the schools in New York State, and this is a pattern which exists in other industrialized states in the North, the border states, and certain cities in the South (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967). One may go on to list scores of inequities relating to the economic, social, and educational positions of Negroes and other minority group members, but the main point seems clear: Negroes are at the bottom of American society, educationally and economically — with essentially no improvement in their relative status since the 1940's (West, 1968; Kruger, 1969).

The persistence, and in some respects, worsening of the gap between Negroes and whites has no doubt contributed greatly to social unrest in the United States. It is not generally our nature to continually

endure frustration as the U.S. National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (1968) states:

> . . . for many minorities, and particularly for the children of the ghetto, the schools have failed to provide the educational experience which could overcome the effects of discrimination and deprivation.
>
> This failure is one of the persistent sources of grievance and resentment within the Negro community. The hostility of Negro parents and students toward the school system is generating increasing conflict and causing disruption within many school districts (p. 25).

The Commission went on to describe the dangers to American society resulting from the failure to integrate the schools:

> We support integration as the priority education strategy; it is essential to the future of American society. In this last summer's disorders we have seen the consequences of racial isolation at all levels, and of attitudes toward race, on both sides, produced by three centuries of myth, ignorance and bias. It is indispensable that opportunities for interaction between the races be expanded (p. 25).

Since the Commission's report in 1968, there has been growing evidence of predicted racial cleavage occurring directly in the schools, as the credibility of the Nation's response to Negro demands has filtered down to the young. *The Urban Crisis Monitor* (1969) reported some 2,000 disorders in the Nation's high schools between November 1968 and February 1969. Racial conflict was reported to be at the heart of the ugliest and most violent of the protests surveyed, and is apparently the major cause of disorders in high schools in the large cities.

The cost of racially and socially isolated schools also includes the enormous effect of violence and crime on the economy and on the lives of thousands of individuals every year. The National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence (*The New York Times,* November 24, 1969) concluded that the United States clearly leads other stable nations in the number of homicides, rapes, robberies, and assaults. The commission further noted that the roots of violence and crime are in *class status.* Given the close correspondence between social class and race, one would then expect Negroes to contribute disproportionately to the extent of crime recorded in the United States. As noted in Wilson (1967) study, the failure of the schools to provide quality education for all appears to be one of the major

factors contributing to the high rate of delinquency among lower-status adolescents, whether Negro or white.

It is evident from the findings of this report that, the enormous waste of human resources resulting partially from racial isolation in the schools, can in part be reversed through quality education in the integrated school setting. The findings of this report focus attention on the disadvantaged Negro child, the equally disadvantaged Puerto Rican child, and other children — who generally experience frustration and failure in the school setting. However, it is not only these disadvantaged groups who will benefit from the educational and social changes which will result from the achievement of quality and equality in education. White and other advantaged children will thereby obtain a greatly expanded opportunity to experience the diversity in behavior and custom that has always been part of the American cultural scene. Sullivan and Stewart (1969), in reporting on the process of integration at Berkeley, described numerous instances of interracial interaction among children, parents, and teachers which represent social experiences that cannot be gained firsthand in the isolated white middle-class school. For example, some 500 adult volunteers are currently participating in the educational process in Berkeley. White parents, who formerly feared the effect of integration on their children's achievement, are now helping Negro children to read, write, or do arithmetic.

The general failure to achieve real progress in the elimination of segregation in the schools, whether *de jure* or *de facto,* thus represents a loss to the enrichment of American culture, while at the same time it has increased the level of interracial distrust among both major racial groups. A reflection of this distrust is found in the Negro separatist movement which, among other things, calls for the establishment of quality education in a segregated school setting. Riessman (1966) has correctly analyzed this response as a capitulation to the negative response of whites to moves to initiate desegregation in the schools in various parts of the Nation. The call for separatism is further analyzable as a normal defensive response to the overwhelming frustration which Negroes must have experienced as a function of viewing the record: " If you are not going to help us (as it now must appear), then we will do it by ourselves."

It is, however, not at all evident that quality education can be initiated now or in the near future in a segregated school setting. The findings of Coleman, Campbell, Hobson, McPartland, Mood, Weinfeld, and York (1966), and the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

(1967) certainly would not support this notion. Rather, the general body of evidence relating to school integration indicates that improvement in the educational development of Negro students can be expected within a relatively short time following the placement of the child in an integrated school setting. There appears to be no other educational treatment which comes as close to the demand for *improvement now* as the proposal for a solution through effective integration.

The overall findings of this report also generally bear out the contentions of the New York State Board of Regents and other policy-making boards, that schools isolated on the basis of race may be decidedly harmful to the educational development of their students. A careful examination of the evidence, however, fails to show that the potentially negative effects of segregated schooling are a function of racial isolation by itself. Rather, it appears that we face a much broader issue emanating from widespread establishment of certain types of educational practices and social and economic segregation of large groups of students in schools in the State and Nation. That is, the *predominant socioeconomic context* of the schools appears to exert an important influence on the educational, intellectual, and psychological development of students. Negroes and certain other minority group members are proportionately more disadvantaged, educationally and otherwise, due to the close correspondence between race and economic status and the continuing and even exacerbating maintenance of residential and school segregation in the North and South. However, any student — whether he be Negro, Puerto Rican, white, or a member of any other identifiable group — is likely to suffer some degree of educational disadvantagement as a function of attendance in schools and classrooms with predominantly lower-status children.

The results of the studies reviewed in this report also provide a substantial but yet tentative basis for a number of recommendations concerning ways in which the social class status of the school and other relevant factors may be manipulated to increase the chances that Negro and other disadvantaged children may experience a more facilitating educational climate. Given the current national commitment to school desegregation, it is of considerable importance that all systematic knowledge be brought to bear on making the process of desegregation as psychologically and educationally effective as possible. A major focus of this report is therefore on the clarification of relevant conditions which may be manipulated in the school to

enhance the potentially facilitating effects of desegregation. Such conditions may include arranging appropriate social class balance in the school and classroom, making selective changes in the instructional process, involving students in new kinds of intergroup activities, and others. The findings of other studies reviewed provide a source for additional recommendations concerning some types of qualitative changes which may assist in facilitating the educational development of minority group students during the interim of extensive racial and social class isolation in the schools.

The findings of the review further show that school desegregation is no panacea leading to the sudden disappearance of the intellectual and educational gaps existing between members of the advantaged majority student population and those regarded as disadvantaged minority students. The evidence on this question does indeed indicate that, under certain conditions, school desegregation may result in worthwhile benefits for disadvantaged students. However, knowledge of the process of desegregation is not yet so complete, nor is what is now known of the process so systematically applied that any startling changes in educational development should generally become evident in desegregated minority group students.

It is thus evident that mere attendance in an " integrated " school is generally not sufficient to rectify the results of a grossly inadequate experience. Special and systematic efforts must be made within the integrated school setting, including the development of programs in both the social and academic areas, if the integrated school is to achieve near its potential for all students involved. For those students who will undoubtedly remain in inferior educational settings, isolated by both race and economic status from the broad range of opportunities offered by society, radical departures are needed to achieve effective changes in the schools. The efforts being made now in the cause of integration and through other forms of educational compensation appear to be far outweighed by the growing magnitude of the educational and social problems in the cities.

# CHAPTER I

## School Desegregation in New York State: A Review of Policy, Programs, and Decisions

In the early history of the United States there were no formal provisions for educating the Negro, and in fact, many states passed laws prohibiting their education. Following the Civil War, efforts were made to make education available to the Negro in both the North and South. By 1900, the South was providing limited financial support for Negro education mainly in the areas of elementary and vocational education. While the North generally provided greater support for Negro education, like the South, most of its facilities were segregated. New York State, however, recognized the inherent inequity of separate educational facilities and in 1900 passed Section 3201 of the Education Law which prohibited discrimination in education because of race, color, or creed. New York thus anticipated the results of many court battles that would find their climax in the 1954 *Brown* vs. *the Topeka Board of Education* decision.

While New York had moved relatively early to eliminate *de jure* segregation, the *Brown* decision drew attention to the State's rather extensive *de facto* segregation that has largely resulted from housing patterns. As in the case of *de jure* segregation, the State has shown a positive and consistent response in attempting to eliminate *de facto* segregation.

The New York State Commissioner of Education in carrying out the policies of the Board of Regents has taken several steps during the past 20 years to provide administrative and programmatic resources for the elimination of segregation. These include:

1. The establishment of an office for the administration of the Fair Educational Practices Act of 1948;
2. A study in 1954 of discrimination in admission to higher education institutions by the Advisory Council on Intercultural Relations in Education whose responsibilities were later expanded to the area of elementary and secondary education;

3. The creation of a Division of Intercultural Relations in Education in 1957 which administers funds provided by the State Legislature to assist school districts in solving problems of racial imbalance, assists in the development of programs designed to achieve integration, provides consultative services to local school officials, and administers antidiscrimination legislation;
4. The creation of the State Education Commissioner's Advisory Committee on Human Relations and Community Tensions in 1962 to advise and assist the Commissioner and local school officials in dealing with the growing problem of *de facto* segregated schools;
5. A statement of *Guiding Principles for Dealing with De Facto Segregation in Public Schools in* 1963;
6. The establishment of a Center on Innovation in 1964 to encourage and guide constructive change in the educational system;
7. The creation of the Office of Urban Education in 1968 to administer funds and carry out the Regents directive of developing a strategy to revitalize urban school systems;
8. The conduct of an ethnic census to indicate how the Department could be better prepared to attack the problem of racial imbalance; and
9. The institution of a Pupil Evaluation Program which affords a look at the "inner-city" and its contiguous districts in studying the need for integration and compensatory education in certain areas of the State.

In support of the Board of Regents and Commissioner's efforts to provide equal educational opportunity, Governor Rockefeller and the New York State Legislature have voiced a commitment to legislate against the immorality of discrimination and to work toward equal educational opportunity. This policy has been stated in the Governor's speeches, messages, memorandums, and in legislative resolutions. The Legislature has appropriated funds designed to assist school districts in eliminating *de facto* segregation, and funds have also been appropriated to assist urban schools in upgrading their educational programs in response to the educational problems of urban minorities and the urban poor.

Despite this effort which has placed New York State at the forefront nationally in efforts to eliminate segregated schools, in 1969 the Legislature passed and the Governor signed into law Chapter 342 which became effective September 1, 1969. Chapter 342 (Laws of 1969) is an act to amend the education law in relation to prohibiting

discrimination on account of race, creed, color, or national origin in connection with the education of the children of the State. This legislation effectively prohibits appointed school boards and the Commissioner of Education from directing assignment of pupils and altering school boundaries or attendance zones for the purpose of reducing racial imbalance in the schools. At the same time, the Legislature appropriated $3 million to the State Education Department for assisting school districts in paying the excess costs involved in solving problems of racial imbalance in the schools.

This inconsistency noted in recent legislative action relating to school desegregation in New York State reflects the influences of a number of factors, including the current politically conservative climate of the State and Nation, continuing irrational fears among large segments of the population, and a splintering of the Negro movement into a variety of separatist groups. The situation is now indeed complicated, with some Negro groups demanding the continuation of segregated schooling, with control in the hands of the Negro community (Sizemore, 1969; Wilcox, 1969). The majority of whites and Negroes, however, still favor school integration as the primary solution to the problems resulting from separation of the races in most major facets of life in the United States (Pettigrew and Pajonas, 1964; Pettigrew, 1968; *Newsweek,* June 30, 1969).

As this report shows, racial isolation in public schools of the State has increased substantially in the past few years, and all indicators suggest that this increase will continue without the advent of strong and positive action. Current administrative and programmatic efforts toward the advancement of school desegregation have stemmed only a small part of the tide of increase in racial isolation in the schools, the implications of which had apparently been recognized in former Commissioner Allen's 1966 statement before the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, " . . . despite the depth of our commitment and the strong efforts that have been made, only a beginning has been achieved (p. 307)." At present, it appears that our beginning efforts have been outrun by continued growth in the seriousness of the problem of racial isolation in the schools.

# CHAPTER II

## Population Patterns and Segregation in the Schools

This section of the report examined national and State trends in the growth of Negro and Puerto Rican populations relative to the growth of the white majority, with the intent of determining their implications for ethnic isolation in the schools. Based on data from the Information Center on Education, the extent of ethnic isolation in the schools was analyzed over a 2-year period to determine where ethnic isolation in the schools was relatively severe, and whether such isolation was on the increase.

### *Overall Population Trends by Ethnic Group*

Examination of population growth trends showed that New York State reflects the national trend of increases in the number and proportion of nonwhites in a generally expanding population. Figure 1 shows the relative increases (in percents) of white and nonwhite populations in New York State for three intervals extending from 1940 to 1967. The greater proportional increases shown for the nonwhite population is reflected in the fact that in 1940 nonwhites made up 4.5 percent of the population in New York State, whereas in 1967 they comprised 10.1 percent. Puerto Ricans constitute another substantial minority group, accounting for nearly 6 percent of the population of the State in 1969.

As elsewhere in the Nation, nonwhites in New York State are largely concentrated in the urban and metropolitan areas. As shown in figure 2, in 1967, 75 percent of the nonwhites in the State lived in New York City alone, with 86 percent living in the New York City metropolitan area. Nearly all of the Puerto Ricans of the State (95 percent) are concentrated in New York City. Other areas of concentration are the big cities and certain suburban areas in the New York City metropolitan area.

FIGURE 1

Increases in Total White and Nonwhite Populations in New York State 1940–1967 [1]

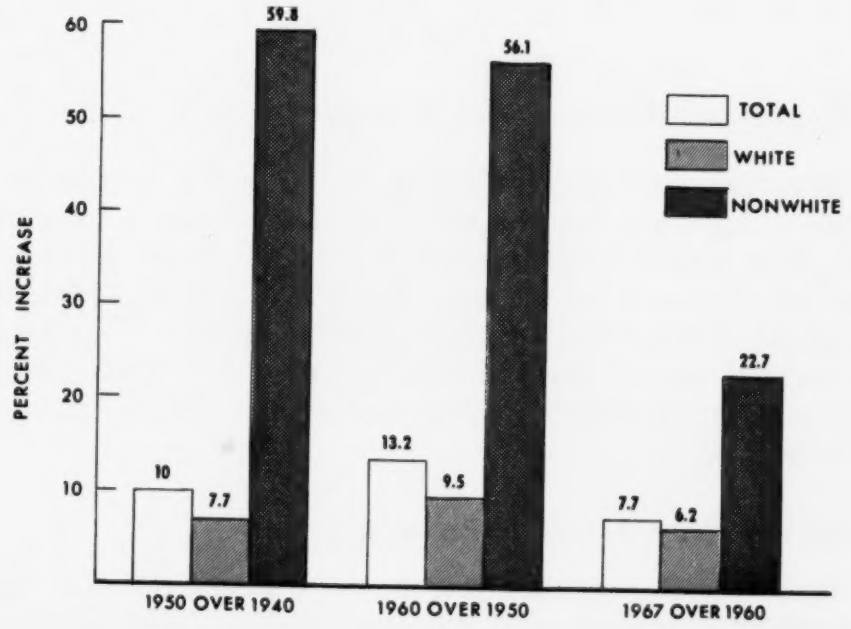
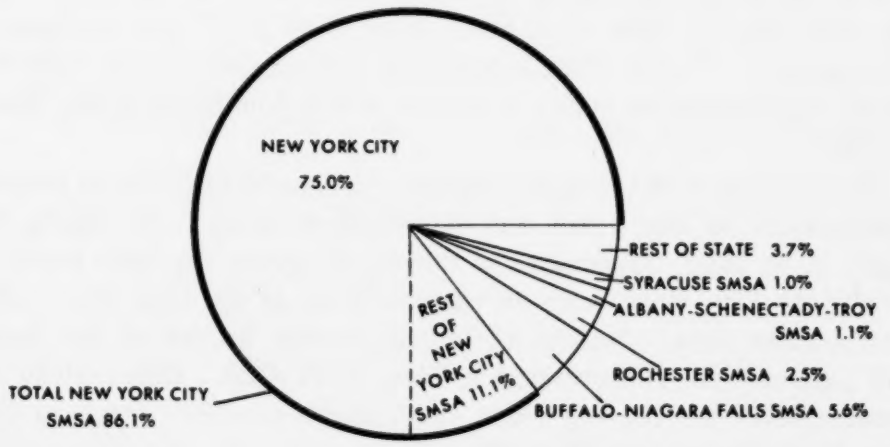



FIGURE 2

Distribution of Nonwhite Population in New York State by Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas 1967 [2]




[1] Based on data from the New York State Commission for Human Rights (1967).

[2] Based on data from the New York State Division of the Budget (1969).

*Growth of Minority Student Populations in New York State*

Since the 1966–67 school year, the collection of racial and ethnic data for both elementary and secondary schools has been a part of the Education Department's annual Basic Educational Data System Programs (BEDS). Schools are currently asked to report enrollments by five ethnic groups: American Indian, Negro, Oriental, Spanish-Surnamed-American, and Other. Spanish-Surnamed-Americans are predominantly Puerto Rican in New York State, and the latter designation will be used in this report. The category "Other" is comparable to the white category of the general census except that it does not include Spanish-Surnamed-Americans.

The BEDS data, covering the school years 1966–67, 1967–68, and 1968–69, reveal the same upward trends in the number of Negroes and Puerto Ricans and in the total school population that are shown by the long-range general census data. As shown in table 1, the increases in the nonwhite and Puerto Rican student populations have been proportionately greater than the white student population increase across the 3 school years examined. Between 1966 and 1968, Negro and Puerto Rican pupils combined accounted for nearly two-thirds of the increase in public school enrollment; in 1968 they constituted 23 percent of the public school enrollment.

*Ethnic Isolation in the Schools in New York State*

Based on the BEDS data for the period 1966–68, trends in the growth of ethnic isolation in the public schools of New York State were analyzed in 42 selected school districts, which together contained 93 percent of all Negro and Puerto Rican pupils in the schools in 1968. The major findings resulting from these analyses were as follows:

1. Reflecting the concentrations of Negroes and Puerto Ricans in certain areas, the largest numbers and proportions of minority pupils are found in the large city school districts of the State, in a few suburban school districts in Nassau, Suffolk, Westchester, and Rockland Counties and in a small number of smaller city districts not far from New York City. The proportions of minority pupils in the smaller districts are in some cases many times higher than those in the urban districts. The proportions of minority pupils in high concentration districts are many times greater than in surrounding districts.
2. In the 2-year period studied (1966–68), there were increases in the numbers and proportions of the Negro and Puerto

TABLE 1

Trends in New York State School Population
1966–1968[1]

| | 1966–67 | | 1967–68 | | | 1968–69 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number | % | Number | % | % Increase | Number | % | % Increase | % Increase 1966–68 |
| Total | 3,251,654 | 100 | 3,336,678 | 100 | 2.61 | 3,406,658 | 100 | 2.10 | 4.77 |
| Negro | 438,585 | 13.5 | 462,992 | 13.9 | 5.56 | 494,919 | 14.5 | 6.90 | 12.84 |
| Puerto Rican | 237,916 | 7.3 | 256,094 | 7.7 | 7.64 | 280,275 | 8.2 | 9.44 | 17.80 |
| Other[a] | 2,575,153 | 79.2 | 2,617,592 | 78.4 | 1.65 | 2,631,464 | 77.3 | .53 | 2.19 |

[1] Data from BEDS, NYSED, 1969.

[a] The term "Other" is used to designate pupils who are neither Negro, Spanish-Surnamed-American (Puerto Rican), American Indian, or Oriental. In this case only, Indians and Orientals, about .7 percent of the total, are included in "Other."

Rican pupils in most of the 42 school districts selected for analysis. In both urban and suburban districts with high proportions of minority pupils, there was a concomitant loss of white pupils and in some cases a decrease in total enrollment. High proportions of Negro pupils were generally associated with white losses. Given the higher birth rates of the minority groups, and the residential patterns of Negroes, whites, and Puerto Ricans, the trend toward higher proportions of minority pupils in some districts can be expected to continue.

3. Table 2 shows in more detail the extent to which the public schools experienced increased racial isolation between 1967 and 1968. For this analysis, all elementary and secondary schools in the 42 districts were placed in 10 categories according to the percentage of " Other " pupils enrolled, i.e., Category I, 0 to 10.9 percent " Others "; Category II, 11 to 20.9 percent " Others "; and so forth through Category X, 91 to 100 percent " Others ". Category I schools, with 0–10.9 percent " Others," are those with the highest proportion of minority pupils, at least 89 percent; Category X

TABLE 2

Distribution of Negro and Puerto Rican Pupils in 42 Selected School Districts in Schools with Varying Proportions of Others: 1967 and 1968[1]

| Category | Percent " Others "[a] in Schools | Number of Negroes and Puerto Ricans 1967 | Number of Negroes and Puerto Ricans 1968 | Percent Negro and Puerto Rican 1967 | Percent Negro and Puerto Rican 1968 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I | 0–10.9 | 296,576 | 366,361 | 43.5 | 50.2 |
| II | 11–20.9 | 87,118 | 74,566 | 12.8 | 10.2 |
| III | 21–30.9 | 49,496 | 45,024 | 7.3 | 6.2 |
| IV | 31–40.9 | 46,404 | 51,736 | 6.8 | 7.1 |
| V | 41–50.9 | 32,802 | 38,270 | 4.8 | 5.2 |
| I–V | 0–50.9 | 512,396 | 576,957 | 75.2 | 78.9 |
| VI | 51–60.9 | 40,514 | 30,905 | 5.9 | 4.2 |
| VII | 61–70.9 | 40,836 | 38,184 | 6.0 | 5.2 |
| VIII | 71–80.9 | 35,321 | 42,939 | 5.2 | 5.9 |
| IX | 81–90.9 | 39,898 | 34,105 | 5.9 | 4.7 |
| X | 91–100 | 12,126 | 8,282 | 1.8 | 1.1 |
| I–X | 0–100 | 681,091 | 730,372 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

[1] Data from BEDS, NYSED, 1969.
[a] Pupils not reported as Indian, Negro, Spanish-American, or Oriental.

schools are those with the fewest, 9 percent or less. A low proportion of " Others " is indicative of racial or ethnic isolation; higher proportions of " Others " indicate that some measure of ethnic balance has been achieved. Table 2 shows that, in just the year between 1967 and 1968, the increase in the number and proportion of minority pupils in nearly totally segregated schools (less than 11 percent white) amounted to nearly 24 percent or 70,000 pupils. The numbers and proportions of Negro and Puerto Rican pupils in schools with less than 51 percent white students showed increases, respectively, of 3.7 percent or more than 64,000 pupils; the corresponding figures for minority pupils in 51 percent or more white schools showed a proportional decrease of 3.7 percent or over 14,000 pupils between 1967 and 1968. These facts, taken together, indicate that *ethnic isolation in the schools of New York State has increased and has been most severely intensified in those schools that already had large proportions of Negro and Puerto Rican students.*

4. The problem of ethnic isolation is of the greatest magnitude in New York City where over half a million Negro and Puerto Rican pupils were in schools having more than 49 percent minority pupils (in 1968) and 338,000 of these were in schools having more than 89 percent minority pupils. Growth trends in the New York City schools, with increases in Negroes and Puerto Ricans and attendant white losses, leave no doubt that ethnic isolation in the city will intensify.
5. There are districts outside New York City with equally high or higher proportions of minority pupils in schools with at least 89 percent Negroes and Puerto Ricans or with at least 49 percent minority pupils. Some of these districts have over 50 percent minority pupils, and the achievement of an equitable ethnic balance by redistribution of pupils within the schools of the district is impossible. While pupil ratios within schools might be adjusted to conform with overall minority proportions in these districts, accommodation with neighboring districts would be necessary to bring about an educationally desirable balance.

   Other districts with ethnic isolation, notably city districts such as Buffalo, Utica, Newburgh, Poughkeepsie, and Lackawanna, have high proportions of minority pupils in ethnically isolated schools but the proportions of minority pupils in their total enrollments are more moderate. In these large districts, the possibility of achieving a more equitable ethnic balance appears to exist within the districts themselves.
6. Between 1967 and 1968, the level of ethnic isolation increased in some districts and decreased in others. In general, school districts which were able to reduce the level of ethnic isolation to any marked extent were those with high minority

concentrations in individual schools and a relatively low proportion of Negroes and Puerto Ricans in their total enrollments. Where the proportion of minority pupils in a district is high, any lessening of ethnic isolation that occurs is apt to be undone as a result of the tendancy for minority proportions to increase.

### *The Correspondence Between Racial and Social Class Isolation in the Schools*

The socioeconomic implications of the foregoing analysis of racial isolation in the schools may be judged through brief consideration of relevant data available on nonpublic school enrollments and on the economic status of Negroes and Puerto Ricans. Findings from surveys (U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967) show that, nationwide, about one-sixth of the 1960 school enrollment was in private schools, with the proportion being even higher in the central cities. Furthermore, the nonpublic school enrollment is nearly all white (94 percent white in the cities; 97 percent white in the suburbs). Analysis of the school enrollment figures for New York State for the 1968–69 school year shows that nonpublic school enrollment (elementary and secondary) constituted 20.4 percent or about one-fifth of total school enrollment [New York State Education Department (NYSED), 1969]. In the seven largest city school districts of the State (1966–67) nonpublic enrollments generally constituted larger proportions, ranging from 21.0 percent in Niagara Falls to 50.1 percent in Albany (27.9 percent in New York City).[3] An ethnic breakdown of nonpublic enrollment figures for the State is not yet available for publication, but it is assumed on the basis of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights (1967) report that the enrollment situation in New York State is basically comparable.

Negroes and Puerto Ricans have traditionally been disproportionately represented among lower-economic status groups although in recent years the number and proportion of Negroes in middle- and upper-income groups have grown. For example, in 1966, 28 percent of Negro families in the Nation had incomes over $7,000 nearly double the proportion receiving comparable incomes in 1960. At the same time (1965), 55 percent of white families in the Nation received incomes over $7,000. Although these data show increases in the proportions of Negroes attaining middle income status, 32 percent

[3] Based on data from BEDS, NYSED, 1969.

of all Negro families still earned less than $3,000 in 1966 as compared to 13 percent of all white families.

Other data indicate that the economic status of Negroes and other minority groups is more aggravated in the urban areas of the Nation. In 1966, the proportion of nonwhites below the poverty level was about four times as great in the central cities as in the regions outside the central cities (42 percent versus 11 percent). New York City, with the largest number of minority pupils in the State public school system and the most extensive ethnic isolation, has a wide range of family incomes. A recent study of economic conditions in New York City (Gordon, 1969) estimated that 28.4 percent of Negro and Puerto Rican families and 3.7 percent of white families had incomes below the poverty level of $3,500 for a family of four. Another 31.1 percent of Negro and Puerto Rican families earned between $3,500 and $6,000 versus 13.6 percent of white families. At the other end of the scale, 4.2 percent of the Negro families could be considered affluent (income in excess of $14,500) versus 26 percent of the white families. Altogether 36.5 of the New York City population of whites, Negroes, and Puerto Ricans were in " poverty " or " low income " families; and 17 percent were in affluent families. Data on family size and income further indicate that low income families have greater numbers of children.

Figures on " poverty eligible " children used in determining district aid under Title ESEA for 1968 showed over 257,000 New York City children aged 5 to 17, were receiving Aid for Dependent Children (AFDC) support, and another 10,000 were being supported in foster homes. These numbers were equivalent to nearly 24 percent of the New York City school enrollment. Assuming that the great majority of AFDC children attend public schools, and recognizing that there are other assistance programs, it can be inferred that at least one-fourth of the New York City public school pupils are welfare recipients.

AFDC figures reviewed for other districts in the State generally showed a rough correspondence between the proportions of minority pupils in the districts and the proportions receiving AFDC. There were some exceptions to this trend, particularly in suburban districts with concentrations of minority pupils.

Altogether this attempt at translation of the racial isolation data into their socioeconomic implications suggests a number of tentative generalizations:

1. Racially isolated schools in New York State are likely to be predominantly lower-status schools.

2. The extent to which racially isolated schools contain predominantly lower-status children is likely to be greater in the larger cities of the State.
3. Schools with substantial numbers of white pupils in the larger cities may also tend toward a lower-status composition due to the tendency for upper-income whites to attend private schools and the greater proportions of minority pupils in lower-status families.

The correspondence between racial and social class isolation in the schools of the State indicates that substantial numbers of children are deprived of one of the more important elements of quality education: the opportunity to interact socially and cognitively with children from upper-status backgrounds.

# CHAPTER III

## Social Class and Ethnicity: Relationship to Intellectual and Educational Development and Related Factors

The review of research in this section emphasized a number of potentially important sociocultural differences, some of which represent rather firmly established facts and others of which yet require considerable elaboration through research. The review focused on selected studies relating to the following factors: intelligence, academic achievement, language development, special abilities, basic learning abilities, physical health, anxiety, academic motivation, temporal orientation, self-esteem, and level of educational and occupational aspiration. The conclusions of the research reviewed in each of these areas may be summarized briefly as follows:

### *Intelligence*

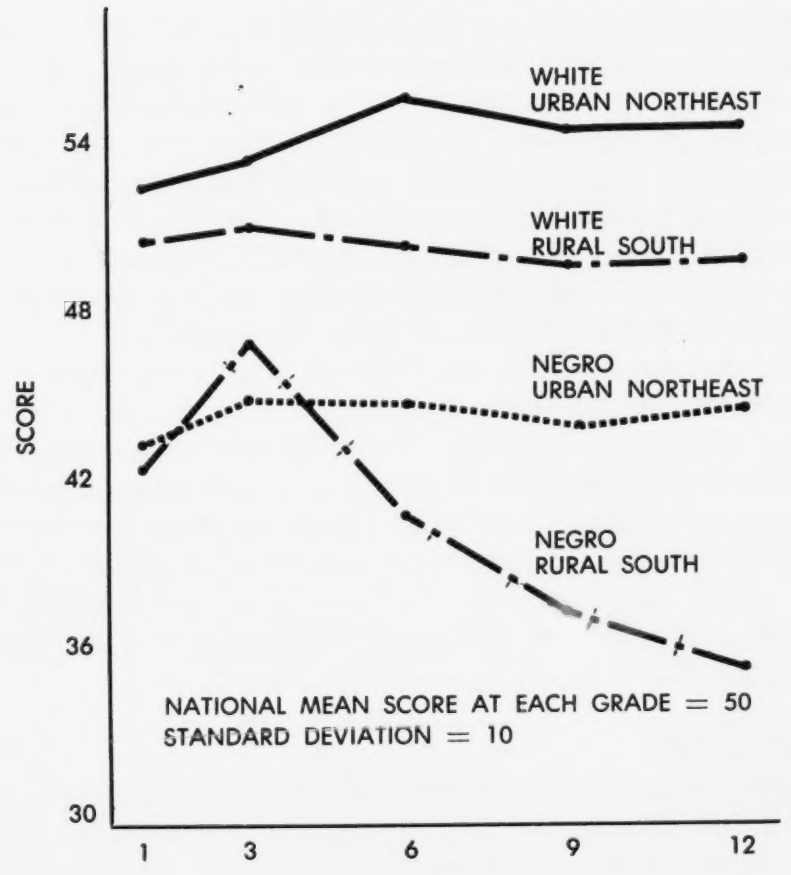
Intelligence level, as measured through a wide range of group and individual intelligence tests, generally shows a less than moderate but positive relationship with indexes of social class level. Further than this, there are ethnic differences in intelligence scores which are only partly explained by typical indexes of social class level. The picture is further complicated (or illuminated) by recent evidence of a differential impact of social class level within ethnic groups, such that the lower-status Negro may suffer more debilitating effects on intellectual development than other lower-status ethnic groups.

### *Academic Achievement*

The evidence relating social status to academic achievement generally indicates that socioeconomic status and intelligence level contribute independently to school achievement. Figure 3 presents regional achievement comparisons for Negroes and whites, based on nationally representative data from the Coleman *et al.* (1966) study. The comparison of whites in the urban Northeast with those in the

FIGURE 3

Achievement Levels in Verbal Skills by Grade Levels, Race and Region[4]




rural South shows the two groups beginning close together at first grade and then diverging over the years of school. The urban Negroes in the Northeast, compared to whites in the urban Northeast, begin further apart than the previous comparison and remain about the same distance apart, demonstrating constant grade by grade differences between Negroes and whites in the Northeast. The most dramatic comparison, however, is that of whites and Negroes in the urban Northeast with Negroes in the rural South. Here the Negroes in the

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[4] Reprinted by permission of the *Harvard Educational Review:* Coleman, J. The concept of equality of educational opportunity. *Harvard Educational Review,* 1968 (Winter), *38,* 7–22.

rural South and urban Northeast begin first grade at about the same point below urban whites in the Northeast. Thereafter, the Negro in the rural South increasingly diverges from both groups, ending up approximately two standard deviations below the average for whites in the urban Northeast at grade 12.

The regional comparisons shown in figure 3 are among the more dramatic illustrations of the results of cultural and educational deprivation on certain ethnic minorities. The differences between Negroes and whites in the urban Northeast indicate that approximately 85 percent of Northern Negroes achieve below the average score for Northern whites at all grade levels. The effect of educational and cultural disadvantagement on Southern Negroes, however, is rather staggering — placing *nearly all* such students below the average ability score for whites in the urban Northeast.

Other data presented in the Coleman *et al.* study show that the achievement levels of Puerto Rican students are roughly comparable to those of Northern Negroes. These regional comparisons appear to represent different forms of inequality of educational opportunity. It appears that, across the years of school, education has virtually no effect on the relative level of educational disadvantagement of Negroes in the urban Northeast. Relatively speaking, the Southern Negro obviously suffers further educational disadvantagement the longer he stays in school.

*Special Abilities*

Scores on tests of special abilities and aptitudes are generally related to social class status in the same manner as scores on traditional intelligence tests. However, recent findings suggest that the effect of social class level on abilities is pervasive but undifferentiating, whereas ethnic group membership results in a patterning of special abilities in important educationally relevant areas. The results of research in this area are in need of extensive replication with additional samples of minority group children at different age levels, and may eventually indicate that educational programs for disadvantaged children must take into account much finer differences than those obtained from the more gross measures of ability represented by the traditional IQ test.

*Language Development*

The survey of studies on language development generally indicates that the lower-status child's language may be somewhat simpler in

syntax, relatively lacking in vocabulary, and may employ fewer descriptive terms and modifiers than the language of the middle-class child. Lower-class communication patterns tend to emphasize commands, short sentences, and a heavier reliance on gestural responses. Although the educational significance of social class and ethnic differences in language patterns is far from clear, it does seem evident that language development plays an important role in certain kinds of problem solving, learning to read, and performance on tests of achievement and ability. The findings thus provide an important and provocative area for experimentation in the educational program of disadvantaged children.

*Basic Learning Abilities*

Research on basic learning abilities reported by Jensen (1966) has begun to illuminate some fundamental processes underlying the ability to learn in different social class and ethnic groups. Using tests which are largely independent of verbal mediational processes and specific transfer from previous learning, and thus largely independent of the cultural bias of traditional intelligence and achievement tests, Jensen found that basic learning abilities were markedly less affected by class and ethnic differences than were intelligence test scores. A partial explanation for the occurrence of large social class differences in school achievement has been the failure to recognize the basic learning abilities measured in the tests used by Jensen and others, and a corresponding failure of the school in adapting instructional procedures to capitalize on social class differences in ability patterns. Although more definitive research is required, the findings relating to basic learning abilities suggest entirely new approaches to the teaching of socially disadvantaged children.

*Anxiety*

Studies of anxiety in white children have generally established that anxiety may have pervasive debilitating effects on educational development depending on the nature of the school context and other characteristics of the student. Much more needs to be learned of the potentially more debilitating effects of anxiety and related behaviors on intellectual and educational development among minority group students. However, the evidence now available is sufficiently provocative to suggest that anxiety and certain defensive orientations play a psychologically significant role in newly desegregated school settings

as well as in those schools which may be considered disadvantaged as a function of social class composition.

*Physical Health*

The greater predominance of malnutrition and premature births in the lower social strata and among Negro families probably contributes to a greater predominance of neurological abnormalities among these groups, thus affecting later intellectual development.

*Academic Motivation*

The development of achievement motivation is dependent upon the modeling of observed adult behaviors and attitudes and other special learning conditions. For the disadvantaged child and especially the disadvantaged Negro child, the available adult models in the home environment, while stressing an inordinately high achievement aspiration, apparently do not provide the appropriate achievement oriented behaviors required for academic success.

*Temporal Orientation*

Current studies show that constriction in time sense, that is orientation of all or most of the child's thought and activities to the present, as opposed to a future orientation, relates to lower-class status and to undesirable behavior such as delinquency and low academic achievement. Other evidence suggests that a constricted temporal orientation is partly a reflection of continuously experienced failure in the academic context, together with a corresponding weakening of commitment to academic and other values ascribed to by the bulk of society.

*Self-Esteem*

It is generally assumed that a positive self-esteem enhances and contributes to academic success. Racial stereotypes prevalent in society, however, are generally deprecative of Negroes and contribute to a greater frequency of self-deprecating attitudes among Negro children than among white children. The relationship of these self-deprecating attitudes to academic success, social class, and ethnicity is in need of further illumination through research.

*Level of Aspiration*

While Negro children tend to verbalize higher academic and occupational aspirations than their white classmates, these verbalizations are generally not accompanied by the behaviors required to attain the goals aspired to, and are probably only psychological substitutes for such behaviors, which the child is unable to enact.

The findings reviewed in this chapter should indicate the complexity of the problems which are likely to be involved in efforts to facilitate educational development in disadvantaged minority group students, whether through school desegregation, compensatory education, or both. The disadvantaged Negro student is not just typically a student with a relatively low IQ score, but he is an individual who is likely to display complex patterns of behaviors and ability levels whose significance in a variety of even more complex behavior settings is yet little understood. The findings of Lesser, Fifer, and Clark (1965), for example, showed that Negro students displayed an ability patterning which differed considerably from other ethnic groups. The Negro sample in this study was second only to the Jewish sample in level of performance on the test of verbal abilities. Current compensatory education efforts, however, appear to place heavy emphasis on the development of verbal skills in disadvantaged Negro students, while under-emphasizing or neglecting other ability areas where these students may be relatively low.

# CHAPTER IV

## Major Studies of Racial and Social Class Isolation in the Schools

The focus of this section is a critical examination of major studies which investigated the relationship between racial and social class isolation in the schools and intellectual, educational, and attitudinal development in advantaged white and disadvantaged minority student populations. Major sources for the study of these relationships are the Coleman *et al.* (1966) survey, a number of reports in Racial Isolation in the Public Schools (RIPS) (U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967), and a reanalysis of the data from Coleman *et al.* reported by McPartland (1967). Together these reports constitute four separate studies of racial and social class isolation in the public schools, three of which are based on the data from Coleman *et al.* Three additional surveys of the relationship between prior racial and social class isolation in the educational context and adult interracial attitudes and contact were also reviewed. The source for the adult surveys was again the 1967 report of the Civil Rights Commission.

The results reported here are stated in the form of generalizations, many of which were supported in more than one study. The relationships stated are not properly interpreted as: If *A* is changed or manipulated, then there will be a corresponding change in *B*. Precise causes of achievement, attitudes, and other educationally relevant variables have not been determined. For example, one might be tempted to conclude that, if a group of lower-class Negro students were transferred to a predominantly upper-status white school, then some substantial effect would accrue to the achievement levels of the integrated Negro minority. However, any effects of integration in this hypothetical situation would not result from some osmotic process whereby the Negro minority takes on the characteristics of the majority group, but is very likely a slow and cumulative process resulting most directly from complex social and cognitive interactions in the classroom setting. Virtually nothing is known of the nature of the interactions of these phenomena in the biracial classroom, and

such interactions are undoubtedly further modified by events in the community and family. The statements which appear below are thus properly interpreted as generalization which define the *gross conditions* that may either impede or enhance, or fail to affect educational and psychological development among Negroes, Puerto Ricans, and whites. Planned educational interventions which relate to these conditions are no guarantee of positive effects on students in *individual schools*. As will be seen further in chapters V, VI, and VII, integration and other forms of educational intervention have frequently failed to show any effect or have shown only minor effects. It is apparent that the gross conditions which relate to educational development among minority students are mediated by other conditions, about which relatively little is known.

1. With the exception of Puerto Rican students, it appears unlikely that extensive changes in school and teacher quality will substantially facilitate educational and intellectual development in students in schools isolated by race and social status. Such changes refer to traditional qualitative manipulations such as upgrading the curriculum, hiring better (more intelligent) teachers, and improving facilities. Findings re- [illegible] essary before the school itself can have any practical effect on educational development among such groups as the disadvantaged Negro student.

2. The social class composition of the school has been established as an educationally relevant dimension, with substantial potential influences on achievement which are independent of the influences of teachers, curricula, and facilities. Whether through accident or intent, schools with predominantly lower-status students thus constitute an undesirable educational milieu which becomes increasingly relevant for the educational development of disadvantaged students with increasing years in school. Negro and Puerto Rican students are more responsive to differences in the social status of the school and are disproportionately more affected by such differences since they are far more likely to attend schools in which their classmates are predominantly from lower-status families.

3. For disadvantaged Negro and Puerto Rican students, the potential positive influences of attendance in schools with upper-status whites is likely to be more evident if the experience begins at the elementary school level, as opposed to the secondary levels. Correspondingly, racial and social class

isolation in the schools is more severe at the elementary level due to the prevalence of the neighborhood school policy.

4. Due to the association between socioeconomic status and ability, and the even closer association between socioeconomic status and school achievement, school practices which tend to group students on ability and prior achievement are also likely *to result in the creation of academic programs along social class and/or ethnic lines, thus resulting in essentially the same educationally debilitating situation as that created by the existence of schools isolated by race and social class.* Since the probable negative effects of social class composition are primarily through the classroom, and ability grouping and tracking are very widespread practices, the implications of the research findings in this area should be considered in relation to any practices which tend to result in homogeneous social class groupings in classrooms in *all schools.*
5. Manipulation of the social class composition of the schools, (transfer of lower-status minority group students to upper-status schools) for the express purpose of achieving equality of educational opportunity, is likely to be educationally effective for the disadvantaged minority group student if at least three initial conditions are met:
   a. The proportion of lower-status students in the school does not exceed roughly 30 percent.
   b. The transfer of lower-status students to predominantly upper-status schools occurs initially at the elementary school level; presumably the earlier the better at this level.
   c. The proportion of lower-status students in any given classroom is a reflection of statement *a* (*a* is unlikely to create appropriate educational conditions for the transferred minority group student unless the proportion of lower-status students in individual classrooms is relatively low).
6. Positive changes in educationally relevant attitudes in minority group students, particularly the " sense of control over the environment:" are more likely to occur if such students attend predominantly upper-status schools. Since the sense of control over one's environment and other academically relevant attitudes may contribute to achievement independently of other factors (e.g., family background and school social class composition), they represent additional factors which may be subject to educational and psychological manipulation. Two factors which appear to affect sense of control in complex ways are school success and attendance in predominantly lower-status schools. A complex of psychological factors, including sense of control, academic success,

asocial acts, temporal orientation, academic motivation, orientation toward immediate versus delayed reward, and commitment to predominantly middle-class values, appear to be affected in part by attendance in predominantly lower-status schools as opposed to attendance in predominantly upper-status schools. Although the relationships among these variables are in need of more definitive study, it appears that the *failure of the schools to provide equality of educational opportunity is part of a complex set of causes resulting eventually in the much higher rate of asocial behavior and academic failure existing among disadvantaged minority group adolescents and adults.*

7. The social and economic background of the disadvantaged minority group student does not appear to exert any effect on achievement, independently of ability factors, family background, and school social class composition. *This finding suggests that the local social and economic context of the student's life will not interfere with the level of academic success that might be expected when disadvantaged students are transferred to predominantly upper-status schools.*

8. The racial composition of the school appears to have a slight (or no) relation to educational development in either whites or Negroes. *Strategies for school integration must take into account social class balance of the school if any effect is to* or Negroes. *Strategies for school integration must take into account social class balance of the school if any effect is to* *be expected on the educational development of disadvantaged minority group students. Integration strategies* which reflect the local distribution of ethnic minorities (in some instances a majority) may be irrelevant if the goal of such strategies is the creation of equality of educational opportunity. *It is probable that integration strategies could be generally harmful to the educational development of all student groups involved, if the result of such strategies is the creation of schools which approach a proportion of one-half lower-status students.* The creation of such schools may result in negative effects on the educational development of lower-status students in a previously facilitating educational climate, where the social class balance was initially within the appropriate range. Overall achievement may possibly be even further decelerated with increases in the proportion of lower-status students beyond the 50 percent point, although this question needs further study.

9. It is evident from the results of all studies reviewed (See chapter V) that *the achievement levels of disadvantaged minority group students still remain substantially below that of advantaged whites, even with attendance in upper-status majority-white classrooms and schools.* One factor which appears to exert a major initial and continuing influence on

educational development in Negro and white students alike is initial intelligence level. Similarly, family social class level appears to exert an important influence on student achievement, although this was more evident for whites than Negroes. *The years prior to school attendance thus represent an important point for educational intervention for disadvantaged minority group students.* It may also prove possible to circumvent some of the continuing influences of family status on intellectual and educational development through appropriate strategies.

10. The review of findings relating desegregated and segregated schooling to interracial attitudes and contact must be considered as suggestive only, due to a variety of serious methodological weaknesses in the studies examined. One particularly important relationship does appear to stand out from the Coleman *et al.* data: *The establishment of Negro-white friendships may be an important factor through which some of the possible effects of the integrated school environment are translated into a reorientation of the lower-status Negro student toward academic values and active participation in the predominant academic environment.* The suggestive findings in this area tentatively establish the development of interracial friendship and understanding as one of the important conditions in the development of a facilitative educational climate for the disadvantaged Negro student.

11. The educational implications of the research findings which establish the social class composition of the school as an educationally relevant dimension are interpretable in relation to current instructional procedures of the schools which heavily emphasize group processes in the learning situation. *Instructional procedures which de-emphasize the role of the classroom group in instruction may produce a different set of values in the relationship between individual and group social status and achievement.*

# CHAPTER V

## Studies of Integration at the Local Level

This section of the report examined the results of some 50 studies, the bulk of which were reports of action research on school integration programs initiated and evaluated by staff and consultants in local school districts. Typically, these studies examined issues of particular relevance to the districts in which they were initiated, but were generally similar in their focus on studying the relationship between integration and educational development. The differences and similarities among these studies allow some tentative identification of conditions that may mediate the effects of school integration on educational development. Such conditions include the grade level at which integration was experienced, the duration of the experience, the social class composition of the integrated school, the proportion of white and Negro students in the school, and the type of transfer program used. To a limited extent, the conditions examined in these studies were similar to those examined in chapter IV, and thus allow further documentation of the findings from that review. Studies at the local level also contributed additional information on the integration process not available from the more representative and more sophisticated studies reviewed in chapter IV. Of particular importance is the information made available on the decision to initate school integration where *de facto* segregation was in existence, as contrasted with research on fortuitous variations in racial isolation in the schools, such as those in the Coleman *et al.* study which are dependent on an existing situation rather than on a direct manipulation of integration. In addition to examining the relationship between integration and achievement, a smaller group of studies provided data on potential changes in interracial acceptance which may occur with the initiation of integration programs in the schools. The results of these studies are suggestive of the nature of the social and educational interactions which are likely to occur under different conditions associated with the process of school integration.

While the studies in this section provide some new evidence on the integration process, they are, at the same time, beset with certain serious methodological problems which preclude drawing firm conclusions about the effects of racial integration *per se*. The first problem arises from the fact that evaluations of the effects of integration were conducted, at most, only 2 years after the programs were initiated. (The studies reviewed in chapter IV suggest that effects resulting from racial and social class integration in the schools may not be apparent when measured over short periods of time.) The second problem results from the use of integrated and segregated comparison groups who were typically equated only in terms of ability. Factors such as school social class composition and school quality are potentially important determinants of achievement among disadvantaged children. Since they were not investigated in these studies, it is impossible to determine the specific sources of any differences found between segregated and integrated comparison groups. As a result, when the findings result in superior achievement for "integrated" students, it must be taken to mean that integration produced a number of important changes in the educational milieu — any one or all of which could have contributed to the differences between integrated and segregated groups.

Within this framework a number of generalizations about the find-

1. Integrated Negro students, as a group, achieved at least as well as their segregated counterparts, and in many cases, achieved at higher levels. While segregated students, frequently achieved as well as integrated students, or the differences between integrated and segregated groups were only minimally significant — in only one instance, which is of questionable validity, did segregated student groups achieve at a significantly higher level than integrated students. Moreover, these results are strengthened by the fact that they were obtained under a wide variety of conditions. Superior achievement was found at both the elementary and secondary levels, although, the evidence on the secondary level was less conclusive due to a dearth of studies. Findings of superior achievement for integrated students were also obtained in programs which involved bussing either to the suburbs or within the city, and in studies of 1 and 2 years duration.
2. The investigation into the relationship between proportion white in the classroom and the achievement of Negro students yielded findings that were roughly similar to those of

Coleman *et al.* and the RIPS report. That is, any positive association between proportion white in the classrooms and achievement for Negro students generally does not appear to be present or meaningful from a practical point of view until the proportion white exceeds 50 percent. It is likely that the Negro proportion indicated as desirable for planning the integrated school would expand or contract, depending upon other factors such as the level of social class background, ability, and academically related attitudes of both the minority Negro groups and the majority white groups. While this conclusion may provide some latitude, the overall results of these studies and the Coleman *et al.* and the RIPS report clearly indicate that it is unlikely that the achievement of minority group students will be facilitated in a traditional academic setting which is about 50 percent white middle-class students, if the integrated minority groups are predominantly from lower-social class levels with the usually attendant cognitive, motivational, and psychological deficits.

3. One study provided indirect information about the effect of school social class composition on achievement in the integrated school. In that study integrated Negro students in the schools with a higher social class composition achieved at higher levels than Negro students in integrated schools with a lower social class composition. Both groups of students achieved at higher levels than segregated Negro students. Some reservations must be made about the study and it can only be said that there appears to be a tendency for Negro students in integrated schools with a high social class composition to do better than Negro students in an integrated school whose social class composition is lower.
4. The evidence presented in these research studies gives no reason to believe that white student achievement suffers under integration. The educational problems which may exist because of integration may frequently have a greater effect on the teacher than on the white student. Integration often means that teachers are faced with students whose achievement is behind their classmates, and their different behavior patterns are likely to create the need to alter some aspects of the teacher-student interaction process. While teachers have reported the need to practice some new instructional behaviors, the reports of the schools show few indications that their instructional programs have suffered as a result. One noticeable change has been that many of these schools have altered their curricula to include more study of minority group contributions and to provide activities designed to promote interracial understanding. Most of these efforts, however, have been minimal, and largely

ignore the body of research on racial and class differences which could provide a much more systematic basis for program development in the integrated school.

5. The studies dealing with interracial understanding and the promulgation of achievement values in Negro students indicate that integration by itself will not automatically bring about improvement in either of these areas. While the studies indicate that integration may not necessarily have positive effects, they also suggest that the integrated setting has a great potential for producing better interracial understanding and an increased orientation toward achievement. The research suggests that integration will have a facilitating effect on Negro achievement if it embodies an atmosphere comprised of low social threat and high achievement expectation. While the schools in the studies of integration at the local level did relatively little to systematically create this kind of atmosphere, they, nevertheless, found that the subjective reports of students, teachers, and principals indicated that one of the major strengths of their integration programs was an increase in interracial understanding. Although these reports are subjective, when they are combined with the objective research findings, the suggestion clearly emerges that the processes of instruction and social interaction in the integrated classroom could be manipulated in ways which may substantially facilitate the educational and psychological development of disadvantaged Negro students, as well as other groups of socially and economically disadvantaged children.

6. Even though the studies often indicate superior achievement on the part of the integrated Negro student, it must still be noted that the integrated Negro student generally remains behind the achievement levels displayed by the white majority. Integration, on an overall basis, does help the Negro student to close some of the achievement gap that is found between white and Negro students, but it does not appear to have the potential to completely close the gap. This suggests that if this gap is to be erased, integration must be accompanied by a number of additional, specific programs catering to the disadvantaged.

The findings of chapters IV and V indicate the need for much more detailed research relating to the social and cognitive transactions which occur directly in the interracial classroom. Furthermore, it appears that current efforts to integrate the schools have generally failed to take advantage of what is *now* known about intergroup contact and interracial attitudes. If merely placing Negro and white students together in a classroom is the key to producing more positive interra-

cial attitudes and a stronger orientation toward achievement on the part of the disadvantaged, the results of the studies reviewed would have been generally more positive. Since the results relating to this hypothesis were often negative, the appropriate conclusion appears to be that growth in these areas occurs only in cases where integration is accompanied by other factors. The Katz studies (1964, 1968), for example, suggest that an atmosphere combining low social threat and high expectation of success can have a facilitating effect on the intellectual performance of Negro students.

With appropriate training procedures and other manipulations, it should prove possible to circumvent or reduce the educationally and psychologically undesirable experiences which are likely to affect the newly integrated student for a considerable period of his schooling. For example, enough is known about the learning conditions which facilitate the development of debilitating anxiety so that therapeutic approaches to instruction might be created (O'Reilly, 1969). Similarly, opportunities for positive interracial contact could be systematically created for the disadvantaged minority student. Teachers could be trained to inhibit negative affective reactions toward students who exhibit "undesirable" social-class linked behavior. With the addition of effective training in teaching procedures and instructional materials for disadvantaged students, the stage may be set for more systematic utilization of classroom social interaction processes with theoretically probable positive consequences on the intellectual and psychological development of the socially and economically disadvantaged student. It seems reasonable to contend that, if these and other factors had been given careful attention in the studies of integration examined in this report, differences favoring integrated students would have been far more substantial.

# CHAPTER VI

## Compensatory Education and Integration

Compensatory education programs were based upon the environmentalist belief that the human mind, a *tabula rasa* at birth, has capacities and potentials that may take an almost unlimited number of forms, depending upon the environmental circumstances experienced in the course of its development; and therefore, that human behavioral organizations can be predicted, directed, and modified. If children's capacities for development and learning are not fixed but highly flexible, programs of intervention should be able to compensate for limitations in the child's environment. Consequently, compensatory education efforts have been directed at overcoming or circumventing the environmental deficiencies and experiences of the disadvantaged child, particularly the urban Negro.

Compensatory education programs have been attempted at all educational levels. The specific format of each program varies, but they generally have incorporated remedial instruction, cultural enrichment activities, and efforts to overcome attitudes presumed to inhibit learning. The major aims of the programs have been improved motivation, development of a greater sense of self-worth, and improvements in intellectual and educational development.

In spite of these and other broad aims, the activities of compensatory programs were most often directed toward helping disadvantaged children reach a level where they could be effectively served by regularly existing educational services. Therefore, the determination of the success of most compensatory programs was typically based upon the degree to which the target population improved academically (i.e., approached the mean age-grade achievement levels established for the general population) or showed substantial IQ gains.

Preschool compensatory education programs were developed to offer enriched educational experiences to the disadvantaged child so that he would be adequately prepared for primary school. Project Head Start, implemented on a nationwide basis, offered disadvantaged

children a diverse program of educational, medical, and social services. A major evaluation of Head Start compared the achievement of Head Start participants in the primary grades with that of similar children who had not attended the program. Summer programs failed to reveal any effect on the achievement levels of first, second, and third graders. Full-year programs were minimally effective as shown by differences on readiness tests in first grade.

Head Start was most effective in the Southeast, in scattered programs in the central cities and in all-Negro centers. Project Head Start participants, tested in primary school, did not approach national norms on standardized tests of language development and scholastic achievement. Gains that were made tended to disappear after the children entered a traditional primary program.

Among other preschool compensatory programs were those in Baltimore, Maryland, and Ypsilanti, Michigan. The Early School Admissions Project in Baltimore engaged sixty 3- to 4-year olds in a program to determine whether preschool treatment could overcome any of the barriers to learning believed attributable to environmental factors. The project students showed a substantial amount of growth during a 5-month observation period. However, the significance of this growth is unknown, since no comparisons were made with a control group.

The Perry Preschool Project of Ypsilanti was an experimental cognitive program for functionally retarded, culturally deprived Negro preschool children. It consisted of morning classes, afternoon home visits to involve the mothers, and group meetings with the parents. An evaluation which followed the project children for 3 years revealed that the participants grew in intellectual and language development. The initial spurts in IQ were not sustained although the performance of the participants was superior to controls on some achievement tests in grades one and two.

At the elementary school level, the All Day Neighborhood School Program in New York City attempted to deal with the effects of a ghetto neighborhood by employing teachers specially trained in child development and home and school relationships to assist during the regular school day and in a special after-school program. Program participants were compared to control students in similar schools without compensatory education. The reading level, IQ, and academic achievement of the experimental group were not measurably improved. A followup of students into junior high school revealed

no significant differences between the All Day Neighborhood School participants and the control group.

The three programs examined at the junior and senior high school level appeared to hold the most promise for improving the academic achievement of disadvantaged students. The Demonstration Guidance Project of New York City (1956–62), designed to stimulate culturally deprived children to pursue higher educational and vocational goals, involved 700 low achieving but academically able junior high school students. The program format included curriculum modification, reduced class size, remedial instruction, cultural enrichment, counseling services, and contact with parents.

The program followed three project classes through high school and compared the participants with pupils in three project classes. A greater number of students in project classes received academic diplomas and went on into higher education. These results are encouraging, but there are some major questions about the evaluation procedure and the generality of the findings. The project students, for example, were compared with a group drawn from unselected pupils in previous classes whose specific characteristics were not defined.

Upward Bound, a project supported by the Office of Economic Opportunity, was among the more successful compensatory programs. Academically promising, disadvantaged high school students spent 6 to 8 weeks on a college campus in a program designed to overcome academic deficiencies and generate the skills and motivation necessary for college success. Data on the program indicated that 70 percent of the participants entered college and that their dropout rate was no greater than that of other college youths.

Project Case II: MODEL was another promising compensatory education program. The goal of the program was to improve the academic behavior of 28 training schoolboys, 85 percent of whom were school dropouts, and prepare them to return to school. Students participated in structured learning experiences that could be conducted on an individual basis and they received a direct monetary pay-off for test performance of 90 percent or better. Standardized tests administered at the end of year showed dramatic gains in both IQ and achievement.

A generally unsuccessful undertaking was the Higher Horizons Program in New York City. The Higher Horizons Program was conceived as an extension of the Demonstration Guidance Project with the same basic elements, but extended down to the elementary level

and opened to children of all academic abilities. The success of the Higher Horizons Program is found solely in the positive attitudes of participating teachers and principals. Except for improved attendance, some alteration in classroom behavior, and gains in arithmetic achievement at the elementary level, this compensatory education program failed to demonstrate fulfillment of its objectives. The educational and vocational goals of the pupils were not altered, achievement was not stimulated, and attitudes and self-image remained poor.

Compensatory education has been greatly extended with the passage of Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act in 1965. Title I programs have served over 10 million elementary and secondary school youngsters, with the major emphasis on reading improvement. A report of the first 2 years of experience with ESEA, Title I in New York State (NYSED, August 1968) depicts general overall gains in achievement for the programs funded under Title I and concludes that Title I is effective. The nature of the evaluation and the format of the data, however, make any firm conclusions regarding these programs questionable. In some cases the programs selected disadvantaged children with low achievement, but high ability. The study offered no comparison data or means of determining the significance of any gains made. Without a control group there is no way of ascertaining whether an 8-month gain in 7 months is the result of specialized treatment or might have occurred with no treatment at all. It can only be concluded from the data presented in the study that Title I programs have failed to demonstrate a general rise in achievement to grade level. If this is a criterion for success, then Title I programs, as conducted in New York State, have not been proved effective.

More representative surveys of Title I programs generally indicate a low level of effectiveness. While improvements along such lines as school morale, higher teacher expectations, self-perceived learning climate, and school dropout rates are reported, Title I programs have generally not resulted in any marked change in the academic achievement of children from disadvantaged backgrounds. Much of the failure of Title I to demonstrate positive results appears to lie in poor program development and management. The "Fourth Annual Report on Title I," for example, found that only a tiny fraction of the 1,000 programs reviewed showed evidence of adequate formulation and positive results.

Based on the evaluations now available (cf. Jensen, 1969; Gordon and Jablonsky, 1968), it must be concluded that current large-scale

applications of the concept of compensatory education have failed to show any real promise in raising the intellectual and achievement deficits of disadvantaged children. At the 3- to 4-year old level, the introduction of diversified compensatory services is associated with some upward displacement in the academic achievement of the population served. However, the gains achieved are typically much less than dramatic and their association with specific aspects of the treatment is not conclusive. At the preschool, elementary, and secondary levels, compensatory programs have not consistently resulted in achievement gains, and there have been numerous occasions upon which the control groups have surpassed their experimental counterparts. A substantial number of achievement gains tendered as evidence of program effectiveness have not been statistically significant. Relatively few of the compensatory education programs examined in this report have offered concrete evidence that the compensatory education model, as it is currently being implemented, is capable of obliterating the destructive influences of poverty and inferior social status through raising the achievement level of disadvantaged children to national normative standards.

The general failure of compensatory education programs tried in the past few years appears to have resulted in part from the manner in which programs were formulated and conducted. Thus the plethora of negative findings does not necessarily reflect upon the validity of the notions underlying the concept of compensatory education. Compensatory programs have frequently suffered from a number of gross defects which appear to have substantially limited their potential effectiveness. One of the more obvious defects, particularly among preschool programs, is in the relatively short duration of the intervention procedure. When examined in relation to the amount of time over which the child's deficits have been accumulating, it would appear that no program — however potent — would result in any substantial benefits over a period of a few or even several weeks.

A second deficiency in the conduct of compensatory programs appears to have stemmed from a general failure to follow up and relate to the regular school program. In many instances little effort was made to coordinate the child's subsequent experiences in the regular classroom with his compensatory experiences. In addition to this, the assumption seems to have been made that it is not necessary to follow one year's set of compensatory experiences with another set of higher level compensatory programs which correspond to the child's new grade placement. There does not seem to be reason to believe

that once the child is brought near the level of his more advantaged classmates that he will remain there simply through the use of regular instructional services. The disadvantaged student will continue to live in disadvantaged circumstances after school hours, and this may require the provision of special compensatory programs on a continuous basis throughout his years in school.

A third difficulty of most past compensatory programs has been the global nature of program objectives and the corresponding global nature of approaches. Concepts such as self-esteem, language development, and academic motivation are frequently little understood by program directors and teachers alike. The resultant lack of definition leads to a plethora of nonstandardized and varied activities with varying degrees of relationship to the program objectives (assuming that even the objectives were clarified). Attention to modern behavioral concepts of program objectives, coupled with systematic instructional approaches derived from the objectives, would almost undoubtedly facilitate determination of effective programs which may be appropriate for wider application. It is notable that those compensatory programs that have been judged as highly effective (National Advisory Council, Fourth Annual Report, 1969) have incorporated highly specific objectives and program structure.

A fourth general criticism of compensatory education approaches derives from a pervasive lack of recognition of the specific psychological, intellectual, and learning deficits typically displayed by the disadvantaged child. Most compensatory approaches, designed for general application have been no more radical than any educational program available to the advantaged student. The Coleman *et al.* report clearly indicates that improvements along traditional dimensions of school and teacher quality are likely to have minimal effects on disadvantaged Negroes and a somewhat greater effect on Puerto Ricans. The research review presented in chapter III indicated some of the basic differences between social class and ethnic groups which might well be taken into account in selecting an appropriate instructional methodology.

In contrast to compensatory education, several studies which compared disadvantaged Negroes in traditional compensatory education programs with disadvantaged Negroes transferred to majority white schools, showed integration programs to be superior. Despite the apparent superiority of the integration approach, it is evident, as in the Berkeley study, that disadvantaged Negroes, even when they are in an integrated setting, achieved at considerably lower levels than

more advantaged whites. If this gap is to be bridged, effective compensatory programs will need to be employed in conjunction with integration.

Some of the dimensions of effective compensatory programs are:

1. Operation over a time period sufficiently long so that desired results could reasonably be expected to show;
2. Clear specification or program objectives in terms of observable student behaviors;
3. Structured curriculum and teaching that is specifically related to each of the program objectives;
4. Use of a variety of reinforcement techniques that relate to individual differences among program participants; and
5. Coordination of compensatory efforts with ongoing classroom activities and with those that can be expected subsequently.

It seems reasonable to expect that the integrated educational setting combined with the kind of compensatory program described in this and the subsequent section of the report could be systematically manipulated to yield an even more potent effect upon academic achievement and interracial understanding than has been achieved by either compensatory education or integration alone.

# CHAPTER VII

## General Implications and Recommendations

The national commitment to integration in the schools, and recent legislative programs designed to aid the poor, have raised the hopes and expectations of Negroes and other disadvantaged minority groups. While lack of any real progress in realizing these expectations has created some degree of disaffection among Negroes, the majority remain committed to achieving the goal of equality and educational opportunity through a partnership with the more advantaged members of society.

The disaffected, though not a large segment of the poor, have nevertheless made their feelings and demands felt in the schools and in other major institutions in the social system. Current studies show that the demands and actions of Negroes for equality are firmly grounded in a level of economic and educational degredation, which has shown no improvement relative to the status of whites over the past 20 years. Efforts to mitigate the economic and social disadvantagement of Negroes and other minority groups appear to have hardly made a dent. In fact, the problem of the poor appears to have intensified, and its social consequences have grown more serious, as reflected in the steady increase in racial isolation in the schools and the sudden swelling of interracial hostility in the Nation's high schools.

Indeed, the social sequences of racial isolation have become increasingly evident in the public educational context, as shown by a report (*Urban Crisis Monitor*, May 1969), which documents recent evidence of student protest and active conflict in the Nation's high schools. This report begins by describing a racial explosion in a junior high school in the Watts area in Los Angeles in March 1969, and goes on to say: "The pattern of confrontation in Los Angeles is *typical* of high school racial disorders across the nation [emphasis theirs] (p. 3)." In January 1969, 67 percent of all city and suburban high schools and 56 percent of all junior high schools were experiencing some form of active student protest. Racial conflict was the most common single issue in these protests, and was at the heart of

the ugliest and most violent of the protests. In the January survey about 10 percent of the secondary schools studies reported some race related protest underway.

Current evidence indicates that a variety of forms of planned social contact may assist greatly in reducing the feelings of ambivalence and hostility generally existing between Negroes and whites. A few recent successful integration programs further show that the school setting provides a natural and effective focus for the development of positive feelings and contact between Negroes and whites. Of equal importance, the findings of research indicate that school integration appears to be one of the more effective approaches to reducing the educational disadvantagement exhibited by Negro children and other minority groups, and that the interracial experiences gained in the integrated school potentially represent a long-term solution to the destructive social problems associated with racial cleavage.

Unfortunately, though there is considerable potential for eliminating racial isolation in the schools in many regions of New York State and the Nation, current population trends indicate that racial isolation in the schools is increasing and will continue to increase in the near future. Analysis of the economic status of Negroes and Puerto Ricans in New York State and in the Nation (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967) clearly shows that the racially isolated school is also isolated on the basis of social class level. The possible damaging effects of the maintenance of schools along social class lines are undoubtedly underestimated by statistics on racial isolation alone, since the prevalent practices of ability grouping and tracking also appear to represent the creation of unequal educational conditions for different children.

Given even the coarseness of the available data, it is yet possible to offer more than speculation into the whys and wherefores of the effect of classroom social class composition on achievement. Casual observation in the American school indicates a typical pattern in which the teacher plays the role of information dispenser and behavior modifier, largely in relation to that amorphous concept — the classroom group. Those familiar with the process know that the teacher typically attempts to relate the complexity of the information dispensed to the average student in the classroom in or some smaller portion thereof. It is a generally anachronistic procedure in which learning may be greatly influenced by group contagion. The teacher's effectiveness is heavily dependent upon the cooperation of group

members, and upon such individual factors as conceptual development, attentiveness, and others.

Reviews of the process of classroom interaction reveal that the teacher does most of the talking, comprised mainly of lecturing, presenting instructions, and disciplining students (Baldwin, 1965; Amidon and Simon, 1965). This procedure appears to be subject to gross interference in the lower-class Negro school in which 50 to 80 percent of classroom time may be given over to discipline and other irrelevant activities (Deutsch, 1960). Other studies have also demonstrated that the disruptive and destructive behaviors of individuals in the peer group are highly subject to contagion (Polansky, Lippitt, and Redl, 1954; Bandura and Walters, 1963), and may occur irrespective of competing values in the family. Individuals from backgrounds appropriate to learning in typical middle-class environs may thus contribute to a general disintegration of the process of group learning in the classroom, or their potentially positive influences on the learning process may not be felt due to the prevailing climate of interference contributed by the behaviors of their less advantaged peers.

Other factors contributing to interference with learning in the typical classroom include teacher expectations and the resultant feelings of inferiority communicated to the student. To some extent, it appears that such expectations and feelings may be held in relation to an entire school in which educational deficits and ability differences relative to whites and other upper-status students are made abundantly clear (Pettigrew, 1964). Green (1969) reports a further effect in the tendency of teachers in the " inferior " school to reduce the quality and quantity of information made available in instruction. It would appear that interference with learning resulting from teacher expectations would relate to school and classroom morale, reflected in such factors as self-esteem, sense of control, and intellectual and occupational aspirations — which may in turn be reflected in more directly relevant factors such as attentiveness in class and doing one's homework.

The learning-interference factors described in relation to the " inferior " school should also be relevant in schools with grouping policies which result in either social class isolation within schools or combinations of different levels of racial and social class isolation, depending upon the class status of the white student population and the proportion of " integrated " Negroes in the school. Green (1969) reports that intraschool *de facto* segregation in multiracial schools results in white students regarding minority students as " different."

Minority students come to regard themselves as " different," due to their attendance in special classes. Both groups relate the notion of " being different " to intellectual superiority and inferiority.

The above considerations and realistic evaluations of the progress of integration in the schools indicate that major new efforts are needed to increase the pace of integration, while at the same time radical departures are needed to affect the educational opportunities of large numbers of students who are likely to remain in segregated schools in the immediate future. Accordingly, the recommendations made on the basis of the research review are considered separately in relation to the *disadvantaged school* and the *integrated school.*

### *Toward the Effective Integrated School*

Examination of the many reports and policy statements reviewed in preparation for this study failed to turn up evidence of explicit recognition of findings which show the *social class mix* rather than *racial mix* makes the difference in the achievement levels of Negro students. Further, the social class mix appeared to make a practical difference only when it occurred at the *classroom level.* In spite of this, guidelines have focused on the concept of *racial balance,* with resultant ambiguous criteria for school desegregation which may vary as a function of the overall *racial balance* in the particular district or group of districts being considered.

When the details of the research findings on racial and social class isolation in the schools are examined, it is apparent that much care must be taken in planning for the integrated school if it is to have a positive effect on educational development among minority students. The research findings relating to the social class composition of the integrated school, and other considerations to be enlarged upon later, should receive explicit recognition in the development of plans for desegregating the schools. Recognition of both ethnic and social class considerations in developing plans for integrating the schools might be best accomplished through an identification and study procedure which could be conducted on a statewide, regional, or even a district basis. Appropriate procedures might first *identify* the disadvantaged school in relation to both ethnic and social class composition. Plans for integration may then be further developed on the basis of a more detailed study of the disadvantaged school and its

regional context. Very briefly illustrated, such procedures might be as follows:

1. *Identification* — The identification procedure should be based on at least three considerations which would require reporting on an overall school basis: racial composition, social class composition, and relative achievement level. A range of perhaps 10 to 30 percent Negro, Puerto Rican, and other minority groups combined, with the remainder consisting of white students, may be considered a *generally* appropriate criterion for *ethnic balance* in individual schools. However, depending upon such factors as school social class, ability and achievement levels, and school and community morale, different proportions of the major ethnic groups in the schools in a particular area may be considered appropriate from educational and social points of view. *With all other considerations aside, decisions relating to ethnic composition in a particular school or district would appear to proceed largely from the question:* Do the students in different ethnic groups have adequate opportunity to learn from, understand and become friendly with each other?

   With the ethnic balance criterion remaining a flexible one, identification would further proceed to determination of the social class composition of the school. The appropriate criterion in the typical school setting seems to be a social class composition which approaches or exceeds a range of roughly 30 to 40 percent lower-class students. If the school meets this and the ethnic balance criterion, and overall achievement approaches or exceeds perhaps one standard deviation below national (or other) norms, it would then appear that a clear-cut determination has been made.

2. *Further Planning* — With the identification procedural completed, a sufficient basis has been created for the development of preliminary plans for achieving improved educational and social opportunities in the schools under study. In some instances, it may be appropriate to initiate desegregation primarily on the basis of considerations of ethnic imbalance. For example, in some suburban areas of New York State, it would appear that a careful survey would indicate that social class and related considerations would not represent a particular problem, and that integration could proceed without any serious danger to the educational opportunities of the students involved.

   Schools "flagged" on all three criteria outlined above would be subject to further study, including an analysis of the educational and social characteristics of the flagged school

and its regional educational, economic, ethnic, and cultural context. Relevant information gathered might include:

a. Information on individual student family background including such factors as economic status, family stability, nutritional and health status, academic achievement and ability levels, and educationally relevant attitudes (within " flagged " schools).

b. Information relating to educational inequities resulting from such factors as staff turnover; inadequate materials, facilities, and teaching procedures; lack of community participation; low morale; and others (within " flagged " schools).

c. Information defining the local economic and social resources which could be brought to bear on the problem.

d. Information specifying the ethnic and economic composition of the schools in the region of the " flagged " school, which might serve as facilities for transfer of disadvantaged students — including both public and private facilities.

With the disadvantaged school identified in terms of relevant student, school, and contextual characteristics, a reasonably detailed basis would exist for the formulation of a variety of different plans designed to achieve equality of educational opportunity. As indicated earlier, some plans might be accomplished without extensive changes in the school setting, as in suburban districts where the segregated minority student population may tend toward middle class. In other districts or schools, effective plans may require radical departures from previous efforts to integrate and upgrade the schools. For example, special aid might be required for transportation, compensatory education, school reorganization, nutritional and health services, and family service programs of both a psychological and economic nature. Relative emphasis on solutions through desegregation versus the initiation of radical changes in the school and community context would depend in part on the status of a number of factors which would be largely illuminated through the identification and study procedures described above.

*Some Considerations for the Effective Integrated School*

Study of the research and reflection on the experiences of others relating to the process of school integration suggests five sets of inter-

related conditions which may enhance the effectiveness of the integrated school:

1. Since student's social status in the classroom seems to affect his level of academic success and vice versa (i.e., it is a circular process), *a major effort should be mounted to insure early and continuing success in the academic area.* The application of certain approaches and programs designed to make up for learning difficulties may thus be necessary to the academic success of the desegregated Negro student.
2. Academic efforts by themselves do not take full advantage of the potential of the integrated school for positive educational and social change and may even fail in an atmosphere of potential interracial conflict. *Specific attention must therefore be paid to the minority student's own capabilities and tendencies in social interaction with whites as well as to the typical social responses and tendencies of whites in the interracial situation.*
3. Studies indicate that the classroom teacher typically exerts a major influence on the social status of students. Such influence is frequently exerted in relation to conforming, class-linked behavior, student responses and other behaviors indicative of achievement, sex of student, and students' racial status (Chesler, 1969). These forms of influence are rapidly communicated to the peer group, who, in turn, rejects the "offender." This pattern of teacher-peer group rejection is more likely to be experienced by the typical Negro child, and *thus specific steps must be taken to train teachers to respond appropriately in the classroom.*
4. Research shows that parents exert a powerful and continuing effect upon their children's manifestations of racial attitudes in the classroom. Special efforts to create racial harmony in the school setting may thus fail or prove only partially effective if steps are not also taken to develop substantial community support and participation in the school program. *Special efforts should therefore be made to expand the integrated school into the role of community center and involve parents of both racial groups in the process of integration.*
5. The introduction of Black history, culture, and special studies into the curriculum appears to be an important basis for improving interracial understanding. *Careful and fair attention should be given to minority group contributions at all levels of the curriculum, and special courses relating to the issue of cultural pluralism might be appropriately included in the school program.*

Based on the foregoing conditions for the effective integrated school, suggestions for realizing these conditions are given below in

three areas: teacher training procedures, procedures for changing the structure and organization of the school, and procedures for attaining community participation in the academic program.

*Teacher Training Experiences Relevant To Establishing the Effective Integrated School*

1. Experiences designed to sensitize the teacher toward typical interaction patterns which reflect negative class- and caste-linked attitudes. (These experiences would further incorporate direct practice in social responses which imply positive recognition of behavioral differences associated with variations in sociocultural background.)
2. Experiences leading to knowledge of Negro history, social problems, individual and group differences relating to success in American society, and an understanding of current forces of social interest.
3. Practice in managing patterns of interracial interaction which would focus on historical, cultural, economic, and attitudinal differences associated with race and class status.
4. Practice in the utilization of principles based in social psychological research which relate to changing intergroup attitudes. (One of the prime examples proceeds from the work of Sherif (1958) which showed that intergroup attitudes may be changed when alienated groups pursued activities which involved the achievement of a common goal.)
5. Practice in the application of techniques which would allay the stress value of certain elements of the learning situation, e.g., test taking, verbal participation in classroom activities, and the experience of difficulty with traditional learning materials and approaches.

*Suggested School Structure and Organization for Effective Integration*

The flexibility required by the inclusion of a variety of new programs, activities, and personnel in the effective integrated school would appear to necessitate basic changes in organizational structure. One approach with considerable potential for accommodating the great need for structural flexibility in the integrated school is the continuous learning year.

The main features of the continuous learning year allow the adoption of educational practices which are theoretically relevant to the learning needs of the disadvantaged child, and of greater practical significance — allow the introduction of compensatory education in the

integrated school setting without removing the child from participation in the regular school program (i.e., in integrated classes). Some of the advantages of the continuous learning year, in this respect, are outlined as follows:[5]

1. One plan for restructuring the school year calendar provides multiple vacations during the school year. The new learning cycles of 8 or 9 weeks, followed by 2-week vacations, provide a continuity of learning that does not exist with the regular school year calendar. The absence of a serious break in the learning process means that teachers would no longer have to spend weeks in the fall reviewing or reteaching in hopes of bringing the students back to the learning levels they had reached just prior to the close of school in June.
2. A second major advantage of the continuous learning year calendar lies in the possibility of providing the children with approximately 10 percent more education without necessarily increasing school costs at the same rates. The periods of intermittent vacation made available, also provide up to 10 weeks of additional instructional time which can be used for compensatory education as well as other educational efforts deemed desirable in the interracial school. Such an arrangement may not necessarily entail large increases in instructional costs if the school can avail itself of low-cost instructional aides and volunteers as in the Berkeley integration program.

Besides incorporating the basic feature of making more time available for instruction, through a variety of plans, the lengthened school year may also make available large blocks of free time (referred to as "E" time) for independent study, special programs (e.g., Black studies), vocational and technical education programs, and experimentation with special programs designed for the disadvantaged child. The flexibility thus introduced merits serious consideration in plans involving school desegregation, but the basic features of the lengthened school year are no less desirable in the disadvantaged school.

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[5] A variety of detailed plans for the continuous learning year have been developed by George Thomas, Coordinator for the Extended School Year, NYSED. The plan referred to here is only one part of one of Thomas' plans, and is presented primarily to illustrate the applicability of the extended school year concept to the curricular needs of the integrated school.

*Suggested procedures for obtaining adequate community support in the school program include* (paraphrased from Sullivan and Stewart, 1969, pp. 198–202):

1. Encouraging minority groups, particularly the poor to take the initiative, speak out, and become leaders.
2. Involving all civic, university, church, business, service groups, and minority organizations, including the Black Power leaders.
3. Involving parents at all steps of the process, particularly minority parents.
4. Continually informing the public of progress made and of plans for the future.
5. Providing intergroup education in inservice units and seminars for the public.
6. Scheduling social events, picnics, and weekend retreats, for both Negro and white parents.
7. Involving students, parents, and teachers in interracial workshops, meetings, and neighborhood discussions.
8. Integrating after-school recreational programs.

### *Toward More Effective Education in the Disadvantaged School*

The school population analysis in chapter II makes it abundantly clear that the educational and social problems represented by the disadvantaged school are growing rather than decreasing. When viewing the past record of progress in accomplishing desegregation in the schools in New York State, and generally in the Nation, it appears unrealistic to expect that great numbers of minority students will *suddenly* experience the educationally facilitating effects of the integrated school setting. The only way out of this impasse, in such areas as New York City, is to provoke massive and radical change in the educational process, while at the same time making all possible efforts to increase the pace of school desegregation. The notion of "compensation for educational inadequacies," which usually reflects something added to the educational process, should now reflect the need to work basic changes in the schools as well as the need to "intervene" at appropriate stages in the child's development.

The discussion in this section outlines some suggested changes and considerations for improving upon current efforts to effect educational change among disadvantaged children. This is not a comprehensive set of suggestions, but treats a few key areas relating to research, program development, and staff training.

*Development and Implementation of Effective Educational Programs*

Evaluations of compensatory programs for the disadvantaged have shown that in general they are not succeeding in raising the achievement levels of the deprived. Similarly, while integration has had a beneficial effect, it has not succeeded in bringing the performance of minority pupils up to national norms. It is apparent that many basic questions relating to the causes of inadequate educational development remain unanswered, and that programs that will produce academic change have yet to be devised. It is also apparent that in those instances where promising techniques for working with the disadvantaged have been discovered, they have not found their way into practice in the schools.

The current inadequacies in compensatory education stem from a number of sources. In the area of research there has been inadequate attention to defining the characteristics which differentiate the lower- and the middle-class child and children from different ethnic backgrounds. Furthermore, intervention research has lacked continuity and comprehensiveness. It has been handicapped by questionable evaluative measures which do not tap the specific skills being taught, by a lack of specificity in treatment description, and by inadequate replication and followup.

Program effectiveness has been hampered by the present procedure of leaving much of program *formulation and implementation* up to the local school district and therefore to school practitioners, who because of their experience and training are unable to come up with the innovative approaches needed for the disadvantaged. Two additional conditions which appear to relate to the inadequacy of program formulation and development in the school setting are: (1) the present informal structure for getting into the hands of public school personnel the results of significant new research and development activities is totally inadequate to the task at hand; and (2) the entire process of decision making relating to the allocation of funds for research and development activites, relevant to effective change in the disadvantaged school, generally fails to relate to the available body of systematic knowledge of the educational process.

All of this suggests the need for a new approach to the conduct of research, development, and implementation activities in the education of the disadvantaged, an approach that will afford more systematic control over funds allocated for intervention research and educational change in the disadvantaged school. The approach suggested below

is designed to afford such systematic control over program formulation and development, while at the same time assuring that efforts in this direction will relate more closely to systematic knowledge of the educational process.

It is proposed that research and program efforts designed to upgrade the disadvantaged school be assigned to special centers which would serve the state educational agency, the schools, and the community in a designated area. Operating and development costs would be derived from a pooling of portions of state and Federal funds normally devoted to such activities as compensatory education and innovation (perhaps 10 or 15 percent). A series of such centers would operate primarily within and around the urban centers of a single state or region in a fashion similar to the federally supported regional educational laboratories, but would be further centralized to insure comparability among certain elements of program activity (e.g., evaluation techniques).

The bulk of state and Federal funds, intended for compensatory education and related efforts and normally apportioned to the local educational agency, would still be received by the public schools. However, the expenditures of these funds would be controlled or channeled in such a way that a significant portion would be used to support specific programs generated by the intervention center for implementation in the schools (excluding any program funds intended to render additional *general aid* to urban and other districts).

An initial activity of the centers would be the preparation of broad technical reviews or " state of the art " reports that would provide a basis for policy making, lead to the packaging and distribution of instructional materials of proven value, give direction to leadership efforts to solve problems stemming from social-psychological conditions and requiring a reorganization of the educational enterprise, give direction to school districts instituting locally supported instructional and organizational changes to meet the needs of their social contexts, and provide an efficient basis for the formulation of new research and development efforts.

The centers would undertake a variety of service activities to assure an intensive impact on the schools. These might include:

1. Interpreting further the findings of significant state of the art reports and other relevant research efforts to local school staff.
2. Planning, with district staff, the implementation of research findings in the local setting.

3. Assisting local school district staff in the implementation process itself by bringing to bear the specialized knowledge of the social and behavorial sciences on a continuing basis.
4. Providing for more adequate validation of promising new programs through cooperative efforts with several school districts, thereby establishing an adequate basis for generalization of findings to other educational settings.
5. Providing the leadership and resources for broad dissemination and demonstration of relevant research findings and successful program developments.
6. Developing, for implementation by other agencies, guidelines and other resources which present detailed plans and requirements for new staff training programs, such as teaching specialists and teacher aides.
7. Providing a fertile field for the systematic training of school personnel in realistic situations, in cooperation with institutions of higher education.
8. Providing the resources for continuing supervision and adjustment of new programs implemented in the schools.
9. Providing the independent leadership necessary to involve other relevant agencies (e.g., social welfare agencies, foundation support, other Federal programs) in a concerted and experimental attack on social problems which grossly affect the lives of disadvantaged children, some of which cannot be easily or effectively circumvented by efforts in the local school context alone.

The foregoing proposals represent only one set of alternatives for organizational change designed to improve the ways in which intervention research is conceived and conducted and in the ways in which it is implemented in the schools. Serious consideration of such alternatives appears to be required if the pace of positive change in the education of disadvantaged children is to achieve even a low correlation with the need for such change.

### *The Teacher and Education in the Disadvantaged School*

Much of the discussion surrounding the teaching requirements of the disadvantaged school indicates a strong need to recognize individual differences in formulating relevant instructional strategies. However, *systematic* matching of instructional strategies with individual learning requirements does not yet appear possible on any but an experimental basis. Basic research on the problem has not resulted in anything near a comprehensive delineation of the varieties of abilities and personality characteristics which influence learning in differ-

ent kinds of tasks. Rather, recent research appears to offer consideration of a wider variety of student characteristics and patterns among characteristics (e.g., the work of Jensen, 1969, Lesser *et al.*, 1965) which appear relevant to the design of instructional environments. Their relevance to the education of the disadvantaged child, however, remains to be established through experimentation. At the same time, it would appear that certain changes could nevertheless be made to reduce the potentially deteriorating effects of the group learning situation on instruction in the disadvantaged school. Such procedures are recommended as follows:

1. That typical group processes in the learning situation be generally circumvented through replacement with individualized modes of instruction or small group learning in which students are appropriately matched to avoid sources of interference with learning.
2. That systematic group experiences be developed in which students may gradually learn to participate effectively in group activities, particularly those activities which may lead to increased socialization.
3. That teachers be trained to effectively communicate achievement expectations which recognize the child's basic willingness to learn and discover, and not the disabling conditions of his background.
4. That the child's learning experiences at the outset involve extensive structuring or control, through various techniques and facilities, until self-maintenance of desirable learning behaviors becomes strongly evident.
5. That the child receive systematic training in attending to relevant stimulation in the learning situation and in responding appropriately.

Reflecting the conditional nature of what is " known " about learning among disadvantaged children, as well as the tentative nature of its possible applications, strategies for training teachers of the disadvantaged may efficiently focus on the development of *basic capabilities*, which are likely to form the essential components of a broad variety of instructional and psychological techniques coordinated with varieties of cultural and economic disadvantagement. Based primarily on the findings reviewed in chapters III and VI, relevant capabilities might include the following:

1. Ability to assess and interpret measures of fundamental abilities and skills relevant to learning (e.g., specific learning abilities, basic learning abilities).

2. Ability to select and apply basic teaching strategies which reflect recognition of learning capacities or abilities of various levels, and which are coordinated with strategies for the measurement of abilities (e.g., associative learning, concept learning at various levels).
3. Ability to systematically apply a variety of reinforcement strategies, utilizing different kinds of schedules and different types of reinforcers (concrete, abstract) under appropriate conditions.
4. Ability to apply specific training techniques in a variety of areas where intellectual and educational deficits are most severe among the disadvantaged (e.g., language training, reasoning).
5. Ability to manipulate affective tone in intergroup processes to achieve desired results.
6. Ability to create instructional materials to meet the specific learning requirements of individual children.
7. Ability to train children in certain behaviors and attitudes which support the process of learning, such as " attending to the task."
8. Ability to apply quasi-therapeutic procedures designed to circumvent or replace maladaptive defensive and other responses which interfere with efficient learning.

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